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THE KREMLIN GOES ANTI-SEMITIC

By WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN

A TRAGIC WHEEL has come full circle for the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe. After the Bolshevik Revolution, thirty-five years ago, they were, as a group, made scapegoats for the fact that a number of Jews were leaders in the Russian Communist regime and in the revolutionary outbreaks which took place after the war in Berlin, Bavaria and Hungary.

For every Trotsky, Zinoviev or Kamenev in the Kremlin, thousands of non-political Jews, mostly small traders and craftsmen, paid with their lives in the terrific pogroms that swept the Ukraine during the Russian civil war in 1919 and 1920. Anti-Jewish riots were not unknown in Tsarist Russia. But the number of victims was negligible compared with the tens of thousands who perished during the civil war.

Adolf Hitler's interpretation of Communism as a Jewish plot was an important factor in developing the Nazi program of extermination which led to the wiping out of most of the Jews in the areas under Nazi control during the war. And now, by an ironical twist of fate, it is the Communists who have turned anti-Semitic. It is the Kremlin that has unloosed a wave of denunciation and persecution that affects the existence of surviving Jewish communities in the Soviet Union and in the Iron Curtain countries.

Evidence on this point has been accumulating during recent weeks. The trial of fourteen Czechoslovak former Communist party and government officials (eleven of whom were Jews) bristled with racist innuendo. One of the defendants, Geminder, was baited in the following manner: "You never learned to speak Czech? . . . Can you really speak a decent German? . . . That means you speak no language decently. A typical cosmopolitan."

The trial was full of references to "Jewish capitalists" and "Zionist conspiracies". A well-known American Jewish relief organization, the Joint Distribution Committee, which has now become almost the Number One villain in Communist political fiction, was charged with "espionage and sabotage activities".

The same trend has recently been noted in East Germany, with denunciations of fugitives from the Nazis (many of them Jews) who sought asylum in western countries and a flight of a number of Jews in the East German administration to West Berlin. Ana

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Pauker, formerly the Kremlin *Gauleiter* for satellite Rumania, has fallen from favor and is under arrest. It is credibly reported from Hungary that although Matyas Rakosi, a Jew, is still nominal Communist boss of the country, a general rule against accepting Jews in the foreign service and in other government agencies has been in force for some time.

Anti-Semitic discrimination behind the Iron Curtain is on straight racist, not religious, grounds. Hungarian Jews are reported to be fishing out forged certificates of "Aryan" grandparents which sometimes saved their lives under the Nazis.

THE MOST CONVINCING signal of all comes from the Soviet Union itself. Nine doctors, at least six of whom are Jews, have been arrested on charges of having deliberately killed two prominent Soviet leaders, Andrei Zhdanov and Alexander Stcherbakov, by prescribing incorrect treatment and of having tried to assassinate several Red Army Generals by the same method. Again the Joint Distribution Committee was the villain in the piece and was accused in the official Soviet communiqué of acting as an organ of the U.S. Intelligence Service and of having given directions for "the destruction of leading cadres of the USSR" to the doctors through "the well-known Jewish bourgeois nationalist, Solomon Mikhoels".

New Times, authoritative Soviet propaganda magazine, published in several languages and widely circulated abroad, accuses the Zionists of "supporting the policy of the American imperialists directed at unleashing a new war to dominate the world". More than that, the Zionists, according to this publication, are working overtime "to establish bloody fascist regimes permeated by a spirit of racial bigotry, including anti-Semitism". This last statement might well inspire the question: How silly can you get? It would have only been made, in all probability, by a Soviet editor whose reasoning faculty has been blunted by the fact that no one can ever answer back.

What has been the course and what have been the causes of this evolution of the Soviet regime from internationalism to anti-Semitism?

IT IS A MATTER OF historical record that many Jews were active in the leadership of the Bolshevik Party, and of other Russian revolutionary organizations, before and during the revolution of 1917. Of the seven-man Politburo, leading organ of the Communist Party at the time of Lenin's death in January, 1924, three — Trotsky, Zinoviev and Kamenev — were Jews. Other Jews who occupied prominent posts in the Soviet regime were the first Soviet President, Sverdlov; the diplomat and financial expert, Sokolnikov; the Foreign Minister and wartime Ambassador to the United States, Maxim Litvinov; the out-

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standing journalist and wit, Karl Radek; and, the industrial trouble-shooter, Kaganovich. The last named, whose sister was for a time married to Stalin, is the only Jew who at present holds a position of great power and influence in the Soviet Union.

During the twenties and early thirties there were considerable numbers of Jews in the Soviet Foreign office and in the economic departments, and in the Communist International. What must always be remembered is that the early prominence of Jews in the Soviet regime, a prominence that has long disappeared, was not the result of a sinister Jewish plot, designed to serve Jewish communal purposes.

First of all, no religious Jew, attached to the faith and traditions of the Old Testament, could be a Communist, any more than a devout Catholic or Protestant could be a Communist. Communism imposes dogmatic atheism. Nor was there any link between the Jewish Communist leaders and the Russian Jewish community.

Repudiating any theory of national or racial superiority or inferiority in the first phase of the Soviet regime, the Communists thought only in terms of implacable class war. The Jew who possessed a store or a factory was expropriated just as ruthlessly as the Russian. The Jew who criticized the Soviet regime found himself in jail or concentration camp just as quickly as a member of any other ethnic or religious group. There is a high proportion of Jews among the Russian émigrés. Some of them fled the country because they missed free trade, some because they missed free thought.

It may be asked whether the considerable number of Jews in the Soviet bureaucracy, and among Soviet writers and journalists, did not indicate a pro-Jewish bias on the part of the Soviet government. It should rather be considered a result of abolishing Tsarist official and unofficial discriminations and also of filling a vacuum. The revolution was largely directed against the Russian propertied and educated class and against the Tsarist officialdom. Many members of these classes were killed or politically proscribed or fled abroad. The Soviet Government had to build a bureaucracy from scratch, and there was a limit to using half-educated workers and illiterate peasants in positions requiring technical qualifications and knowledge of foreign languages. The Jews, with their higher level of literacy and education (they were almost all city dwellers), helped to fill this gap.

Many of the victims of the great purges of the Communist Party in the thirties were Jews. But, in contrast to recent events, there was no overt anti-Semitism in the trials which sent many old Communists to their deaths. There was no public reference to the ethnic origin of Trotsky, Zinoviev, Kamenev, Radek, Sokolnikov and others who figured as defendants in these purge trials.

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THE FIRST OCCASION when anti-Semitism was clearly expressed in the Soviet press (which is entirely under state control) was, significantly enough, after thousands of Moscow Jews had demonstrated in honor of the arrival of a diplomatic representative from the new state of Israel. The government reaction was sharp and threatening. Yiddish clubs, newspapers and publishing houses were closed. Soviet newspapers started a campaign against "rootless cosmopolitans", a phrase often used in the more recent anti-Semitic drive in the satellite countries. To leave no doubt as to the meaning of this expression, Soviet newspapers, evidently by prearrangement, began to print the Russian pseudonyms of some writers with their original names added in parenthesis.

The warning to Soviet Jews was clear. Forget about the state of Israel or face very unpleasant consequences. Ever since the establishment of the Soviet Government, Zionism in the Soviet Union has been illegal and Zionists have been persecuted.

What has caused the Soviet rulers to assume the propaganda liability which anti-Semitism represents in western countries, to alienate that body of public opinion in America and elsewhere which felt that there must be "something good" in the Soviet Union, because anti-Semitism was supposed to be a crime? Most probably there are several causes, which may be listed as follows, in the order of importance and probability:

(1) The state of Israel is an accomplished fact; and Communist regimes are utterly intolerant of any allegiance to or even sympathy with any centre outside their frontier and control.

(2) The American Jewish community is the largest and much the richest in the world; and any influence or contact of this community with Jews behind the Iron Curtain is profoundly suspect in Soviet eyes.

(3) An anti-Semitic course may be serviceable in convincing Poles, Czechs, Hungarians, Rumanians and other peoples behind the Iron Curtain that their governments are "national" and not run from Moscow.

(4) Anti-Semitism may be considered a useful ingredient in Soviet designs for stirring up trouble in the Arab world and for winning support in Germany from unreconstructed Nazis.

(5) The Jews may be merely a pawn in a big internal power struggle for the Stalinite succession which may be getting under way in Moscow.

Whatever the explanation may be, the fact is unmistakable. A revolution which began with unrealizable utopian aspirations for the whole world, and with some Jews who had exchanged the moral teachings of the Hebrew Prophets for the false vision of Karl Marx as its tribunes, has evolved into a totalitarian tyranny which regularly manufactures against Jews and non-Jews alike accusations as crazily unreal as the old charge of ritual murder.

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Case of the Diplomat's Date: The happy, wholesome atmosphere left by the inaugural festivities quickly dissipated last week upon the discovery of the nude corpse of a key State Department official in his pretty Georgetown residence. What has suddenly become — despite apparent efforts to hush it up — a sort of Capital *cause célèbre* replaced inaugural rejoicing with the most morbid discussions of all the grisly aspects. Since the police told reporters it was "suicide", but hemmed and hawed over issuing such a certificate, people naturally jumped to quite other conclusions. Dinner parties rang with chatter about "murder", "liquidation", "espionage", etc., and argued over the mystery in suggestive terms rivalling those used in Mr. Mickey Spillane's currently popular whodunits.

Certain questions persisted: (1) Where did the deceased diplomat have dinner just before returning to his home and rendezvous with death? (2) Why the mysterious discretion of certain radio commentators, usually so communicative about such cases? Who — but the Federal authorities — could have sealed their lips? As we go to press, the police reveal that the unfortunate man had dined at the Finnish Legation. But this only adds fuel to the flames of gossip, since Finland is a highly "sensitive" area.

The case (whatever the final, official verdict may be) has had one effect. It came like a gust of chilly, melodramatic reality to destroy the pleasant illusions of inaugural-tide. It has served to remind people that war continues, that the danger of foreign espionage looms perpetually in the Capital — even when a diplomat keeps a dinner date.

Korea: Another assumption takes a licking, at least in private discussions — the assumption that Ike has firmly decided upon an *all-out* offensive in Korea. There is little concrete evidence to discredit this belief (save some surprising remarks by General Bradley to the effect that the situation is insoluble). But we offer the following forecast as symptomatic of some reconsideration now going on here. A veteran observer here, whose military career has been tempered by much disillusioning experience with politics, gives us his "guess" on what may happen:

"Van Fleet and Mark Clark gave Ike soldier talk — tough talk. Next, Dulles gave him cautious diplomatic talk — fears of what our allies would say about an all-out offensive. Then, Charles Wilson told him what the effect of preparations would be on the economy.

"Now, Eisenhower's experience is one of compromise. He is closer to Europe than to Asia. Therefore, his decision — formulated on the background of his own experiences and influenced by the conflicting forces working on him — may prove to be a compromise solution.

"Such a solution could be a *limited* offensive to shorten UN lines in Korea. An attack launched next spring, to advance north of Pyongyang and to occupy a line on the narrow neck of the Korean peninsula (approximately from Hungnam on the East to Anju on the West), would shorten the front by some hundred odd miles. Such an offensive would have a number of attractions. The offensive could be materially aided by amphibious assaults supported by the Navy. It should not prove very costly in lives or materials. Defense of this shortened line could eventually be turned over to the South Koreans, releasing American manpower from the combat zone. That would be popular here at home. Occupation of the North Korean capital and North Korean territory would give us an advantage in any future

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negotiations. Such an offensive could be carried out without danger of extending the war. Public opinion would be satisfied that something was being done without too great a cost.

"This solution would not end the Korean war. But, it would tend to prolong the present satisfactory economic situation in the U.S. Defense spending would continue with some controls. There would be no sharp transition from a war to a peace economy. Final solution of the Korean problem would be left to the future."

Taft's Turn: Opinion here veers from the original belief — that the crowd around Ike could easily run the show and dominate the GOP leadership in Congress — to present speculation that now it's Taft's turn to redress the balance. The reason for this new attitude springs from examination of the Wilson affair — the uproar over the confirmation of Secretary of Defense Wilson because of his holdings of GM stock. On all sides, it is agreed that the handling of this affair by the White House was appalling; it could have been avoided by a little care and preliminary planning. When such a staunch friend of Eisenhower as Senator Carlson (Kansas) had to be blunt and brutal in dealing with Wilson, things had come to a pretty pass.

Then Taft took hold, the Senate took hold, and within the past forty-eight hours the matter was brought to a conclusion with a big majority for confirmation of Wilson. While friends of Ike had to be cruelly frank, Taft followed a velvety, soothing line, well-designed to ease the new President's anxiety, and to demonstrate Taft's ability for getting things done in Congress. In short, Eisenhower cannot fail to perceive that, while his White House retinue got him into trouble, Taft got him out of it.

"Brownell blundered" is the word going around today. The Attorney General at the start angered Taft on the appointment of cabinet members; more importantly, he crossed up Congress. Has Eisenhower taken the lesson to heart? Well, today it appears Taft has been given *carte blanche* to deal with labor legislation. Tomorrow, will he gain some sway over the foreign policy which worries members of Congress? (Many did not like the internationalist nature of Eisenhower's inaugural address.) Taft has taken a place on the Foreign Relations Committee — even his critics grant that this is a master stroke. For it is remarked that when Taft sits at a committee table, even if he's not chairman, in effect he sits at the head of the table.

With the Palace Guard proceeding from blunder to blunder, members of Congress now purse their lips and wait. "The force of circumstances" — they say — will take care of many things they do not like.

Dulles: From our sources within the State Department, we receive a view of the scheduled Dulles trip abroad. It is quite a different view from the publicly accepted one, which is that Dulles will travel, confer, arrange things and then return triumphantly, presumably thereafter to exist as a legend of power and wisdom, like Cordell Hull. The private view from dissenters within the Department is that the dominant State Department bureaucracy (which came in with the New Deal and Fair Deal) sold the idea to Dulles, to "get rid of him" for a while. The objectives are: (1) to weaken the Secretary by sending him on futile missions, dispersing his energy and talents; and (2) to leave the dominant clique time to dig in against any "clean out" of the Department.

Elements, brought in by Hiss and Acheson, happily recall the exhausting and vain travels of Secretary of State Byrnes in 1945-7. Byrnes visited European capitals, including Moscow, with great diligence — time-consuming trips, while the bureaucracy wrote the reports and dug in. The Secretary, it is true, learned much about foreign affairs. By the end of 1946, he was getting rid of Hiss, but he did not eliminate the friends of Hiss in the Department. Within a year, the latter (via the White House) got rid of Byrnes. Such is the view of certain persons who have for long (and miraculously) survived the hegemony of the strange people who ran our foreign policy. Our informants fear that Dulles has not

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taken to heart the example of Byrnes. In their view, he should remain here, clean out the Department and wait for European statesmen to come to see him.

Appointment Trouble: Wide public protest has greeted the selection of President Conant of Harvard as High Commissioner to West Germany. Much of this criticism cites Conant's striking stand on education, his prejudices against private schools. But many dissenters also believe that Conant's past attitude towards Germany renders him unsuitable. (From the grapevine, we learn that Conant early sided — very privately — with those who favored the Morgenthau Plan to turn Germany into an agricultural country.)

A mysterious delay in confirming General "Beedle" Smith as Undersecretary of State suggests strong Congressional objections to a man whose record — as HUMAN EVENTS reported on January 14 — many members found most unsatisfactory. The Senate Internal Security Subcommittee has conducted a number of secret sessions at which General Smith and other officials have been questioned. The Senate Foreign Relations Committee, significantly, held up Smith's confirmation while readily confirming other and less important State Department appointments.

Harold Stassen was confirmed as Administrator of the Mutual Security Agency, but not without a flurry. It had been rumored on Capitol Hill that Stassen (before confirmation) was already sending 10 teams of prominent civilians to countries in Europe and Asia, "to see what those places need". One Congressman, aroused by these reports, queried Stassen as to their truth. Stassen denied the rumors. The incident illustrates congressional distrust of foreign aid spending.

Germany: Senator McCarthy would undoubtedly strike pay dirt if he turned his committee loose on the problem of the personnel of our civilian staffs in Germany. Among other things, he might discover why there are periodic and grossly overplayed "exposès" of alleged "neo-nazism" in Western Germany which — we gather — are directly or indirectly traceable to U.S. staff people.

The past few weeks have seen such a spate of reports. One of the reports, obviously designed to alarm Americans, British and French, was a survey released by the U.S. authorities on January 18, showing a "significant rise" in "nationalism" in Germany. What evidence? The survey reports a declining number of West Germans willing to participate in a European Federation. Only 22 per cent of the Germans surveyed signify approval of a European army organization including German divisions while 47 per cent favored the establishment of a German national army on equal terms with NATO nations. How this is related to "neo-nazism" or what is wrong with this kind of nationalism is not explained.

Dr. John B. Crane (who writes a column "Western Europe Day by Day" from Frankfurt) warns about the charge of "neo-nazism" in Western Germany. "Such charges as these", says Crane, "recur about once a year and as a general rule seem to coincide with a Communist-organized propaganda campaign to sow seeds of discord between Western Germany on the one hand, and Britain, France and the U.S.A. on the other. The objective of the Communist propaganda is to prevent France, particularly, from accepting Germany as an equal partner in any scheme for collective defense against the Communist East." Crane relates a case showing how one Communist propaganda release dealing with an alleged "neo-nazism" development coincided identically with information released by the U.S. High Commission to the American press.

Names! Names! Names! You know at least two people — maybe twenty — who ought to be reading HUMAN EVENTS. Please send us their names and addresses, so that we can tell them about this publication.

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The Perfect State: If atomic energy lives up to the promises of the scientific fictioneers — that is, if it can reduce the industrial power problem to inconsequence, and thereby approximate perpetual motion — then the monopoly of it by the government will make possible a totalitarianism the like of which has never been known.

This thought is suggested by an item which appeared in *The Wall Street Journal* of January 3. "By next January", it says, "at least one private American industrial team believes it will be ready to start building an atom power plant with private capital — *if the Government will give permission*". (Our emphasis.) The burden of the story is that scientists have figured out ways of constructing a commercially feasible power plant, that private capital is available and all that stands in the way of the project is government permission. On the last item the writer is pessimistic.

Atomic energy, it is claimed, will make all other forms prohibitively costly for industrial use. A factory powered by it would be so efficient that it would be to a plant depending on oil or coal like the latter is to a hand-powered machine; and our biggest and fastest ocean liners would be mere rowboats compared to the ships propelled by this wonder form of energy. If this is true, the exclusive ownership or control of this energy would amount to a monopoly of all industry, and economic centralization would be complete.

It follows that the energy monopolist — which can only be the State — would be in position to dictate all thought and behavior; it could, for instance, make religious conformity a condition for employment in a plant depending on its power lines. Unless a private school adopted the official curriculum it would have to get its heat from expensive coal. Non-conformism could be made even more difficult than it is in Russia.

If one wishes to speculate further on the social and political possibilities of monopolized atomic energy, just imagine the situation if the United Nations held the monopoly!

Book Front: Algernon Cecil's, *A House in Bryanston Square*, a spiritual and mental autobiography, likened by the most authoritative British critics to Henry Adams' *Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartes*, has finally achieved an American edition, by Harcourt, Brace & Co., New York.

The book was published to great acclaim in London in 1944. But, such was the force of New Deal-Soviet thought-control in America, especially during the war years, that no American publisher dared risk boycott and opprobrium by bringing it out in this country, because Cecil was scornful alike of Communism and Fabian Socialism, and warned against trusting militantly atheistic Soviet leaders. The British writer openly professed Christian faith in an era when religious faith of any kind was labeled an "opiate" by pseudo-liberals and when Julian Huxley could proclaim "I don't believe in God or gods". Also, as an early advocate of the League of Nations, Cecil gave his reasons, from working experience, why he thought any such international organization for peace could function only to promote wars, not stop them.

The British could permit and acclaim such heterodoxy in their midst, but not the "liberals" of the United States who scream and yell for "human rights", "intellectual freedom", "and "civil liberties", so long as nothing is said to offend Conant, Owen Lattimore or Senator Morse.

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